

# REFLECTIONS ON VIETNAM

Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts. Mr. President, in a recent edition of the New Yorker magazine, an article appeared by Mr. Richard Goodwin on the war in Vietnam. I commend this article to my colleagues, for I found it to be a clear and precise description of the situation, its history, and the policy demands that we now face.

Mr. Goodwin speaks from a broad background of experience as Special Assistant on Foreign Affairs during both the Kennedy and Johnson administrations. He collaborated with both Presidents on speeches which pointed to new directions in foreign policy and was one of the original innovators of such outstanding programs as the Alliance for Progress. Mr. Goodwin is now serving as a research fellow at Wesleyan University in Middleton, Conn. He has had an outstanding career as a lawyer and served as law clerk for Justice Frankfurter.

I ask unanimous consent that this article be included in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

## REFLECTIONS ON VIETNAM

It must have seemed to the commander who made the choice that Operation White Wing had a faintly lyrical sound, suited to the An Lao Valley, where battle was to be found and fought. Dark-green jungle flows over gentle hills toward flat, still swamps, bursting with rice and separated by the trailing wisps of jungle growth that spring up wherever the hand of man pauses to rest. The river slices south through the center of the valley until, north of Bong Son, it turns east toward the South China Sea. The river was muddy—as it always is at the end of January, when the rains are heavy—perhaps reminding Pfc. James Ricks and Harry Morse of the upper waters of the Potomac, which divides their native States of Maryland and Virginia. It was about as wide, and there were rapids. But there was nothing at home like the soaking heat that crowded their lungs, or the violent nighttime fury that tore about the bunker where they waited for dawn. The two friends had come with the 18th Infantry to help clear An Lao of thousands of Vietcong guerrillas who made their home in the bountiful valley.

Eleven thousand miles away, where the Potomac broadens, Senators and spectators walked into room 4221 of the New Senate Office Building, J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT, Senator from Arkansas, foe of civil rights, almost Secretary of State, Rhodes scholar, and backwoods politician, hero to some and dem-

agog to others, sat in the center chair behind the raised, arched desk that stretched across the entire front of the rectangular hearing room. The marble margins of the floor touched light wood-paneled walls in an unsuccessful blending of political-traditional and Washington modern. In front of Senator FULBRIGHT were officials and clerks bent over tables piled with papers and documents—the vital substance of government—while about 60 spectators filled rows of harsh straight chairs behind them. On either side of FULBRIGHT were the other members of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. Among them was Senator BOURKE HICKENLOOPER, of Iowa, tough, narrow, conservative, and, on this day, guardian of the political interests of the Republican Party. Senators FRANK CHURCH, of Idaho, and CLAIBORNE PELL, of Rhode Island, were clearly marked, youth and intelligence, as members of the Kennedy generation of Democrats. There was STUART SYMINGTON, of Missouri, disappointed presidential hopeful, blending absolute integrity with lifelong sympathy for the aims and outlook of the military. Finally, most vocal in opposition was WAYNE MORSE, cattle breeder, Oregon Republican-turned-Democrat, who had broken all the rules of the "club" and transgressed the tenets of polite political discourse, thus earning the disdain of official Washington, yet still commanding deference as chairman of a powerful Senate subcommittee, and whose stern, shrill, sometimes exasperatingly self-righteous independence had carried further across the country than Washington believed. Most of the 19 members were there. The subject was that confused and violent conflict which in the last year had become the center of American concern, expectation, and fear—the war in Vietnam.

Over the chairman's head was the great seal of the United States, the engine grouping the olive branch of peace and the arrows of war—a sculptured omen of the day. Facing him, in a large red-padded chair, sat the first witness—Dean Rusk, for 5 years Secretary of State of the United States, selected after President-elect Kennedy had reluctantly turned away from FULBRIGHT himself, and the principal advocate of a militant pursuit of the war.

At 9:05 a.m. of Friday, January 28, the Vietnam debate began. Its subject: the history, the wisdom, and the future of American action and policy. Whatever the result, however, discussion might alter the course of events, it would not make any difference to James Ricks, of Cortland, Va., or Harry Morse, of Pasadena, Md. Twenty minutes before, while the first curious arrivals were claiming the scarce seats, a grenade flung anonymously through the jungle-fed night had exploded in their bunker. They were dead—2 more of the almost 400,000 people—yellow, white, and black, who had been killed in the strangest and most complicated war in American history.

Before the month of debate was over, it had moved from the small hearing room into the television-dominated homes of millions of Americans, had caused one of the most respected executives in television, Fred Friendly, to quit in fury because his superiors at CBS refused to show the most important national discussion of all, and had made national celebrities out of a soft-spoken general-turned-businessman named James Gavin and a career-diplomat-turned-scholar named George Kennan. With the echoes of the final Friday hearing still fading, the debate touched the upper reaches of American politics. On the morning of Saturday, February 19, Senator ROBERT KENNEDY discussed the possible outlines of a settlement. He was supported by Gen. Maxwell Taylor, Presidential consultant on the war and intellectual leader of the generals, while he was attacked by other officials, some of whom had privately urged the same position they now